A

LETTER

FROM A

COUNTRY GENTLEMAN,

TO A

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT,

ON THE

PRESENT STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

(PRICE TWO SHILLINGS.)

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COUNTRY GENTLEMAN,

TO A

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT,

ON THE

PRESENT STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS:

IN WHICH

THE OBJECT OF THE CONTENDING PARTIES,

AND THE FOLLOWING

CHARACTERS

ARE PARTICULARLY CONSIDERED;

THE DUKES OF NORFOLK, PORTLAND, AND NORTHUMBERLAND;

THE HOUSES OF DEVONSHIRE, AND RUSSEL;

THE LORDS THURLOW, LOUGHBOROUGH, AND NORTH;

MR. PITT,—MR. FOX,—MR. BURKE,—MR. SHERIDAN;

MRS. *FITZHERBERT*,

AND

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

PARVE, NEC INVIDEO, SINE ME, LIBER, IBIS IN URBEM.

OVID.

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LETTER, &c.

DEAR SIR,

I Acknowledge your goodneſs for the very great indulgence you have exerciſed towards my anxious mind, in the various and continued communications you have ſo kindly made to me, in the preſent very ſingular and important criſis. My reſidence is at ſuch a diſtance from the metropolis, and the public prints ſo ſtrenuous for their reſpective parties, that if ſome conſiderate friend, in the centre of public buſineſs, did not condeſcend to favour us country people with ſome general principles for our direction, we ſhould be as little qualified to judge of the preſent moment, as of any doubtful matter of a former century.

I KNOW your poſition in the great world is ſuch, as to enable you to overlook what is paſſing in it; and I am equally ſenſible of your rare qualifications to form a right judgment of what you ſee and hear; your ſentiments, therefore, muſt have the greateſt weight with me; and if you had not deſired me to embody my own thoughts on the ſtate of public affairs, I ſhould certainly have adopted ſuch as you might have deliberately given me, without further reflection or enquiry. But you expreſs a deſire to receive my opinions, whatever they may be, on the paſſing ſcene of things in this country; by which, I ſuppoſe, you mean, the opinions of a man who has long been retired from what is called the buſtle of life; and who, living under the ſhade of his own fig-tree, may be naturally expected to deliver ſentiments entirely free from that ſpirit of party, which, from public communication, private friendſhip, or factious arts, poſſeſſes, even in your opinion, an influence which no one can altogether avoid, at ſuch a moment as the preſent,

who

who mingles in the great ſcene of political life.

If there is a ſubject of theſe kingdoms more unconnected than another with the leading perſons in either of the contending parties—it is myſelf. Mr. *Fox* I have never ſeen ſince he was a boy, and Mr. *Pitt* I have never ſeen at all. I have perſonally no political hopes or fears whatever. Not all the power of Miniſters, nor all the wealth of the Treaſury, would tempt or bribe me to quit the ſhade of thoſe woods where I was born, whither I have retired to paſs the remainder of my days, and where I hope to die. You will, therefore, receive the ſincere, and perhaps the curious effuſions of an honeſt, an unbiaſſed, and tranquil ſpirit, upon the buſineſs that agitates the national mind on the lamentable incapacity of the ſovereign of the empire.

The firſt obſervation which occurs to me is this:—that, at the moment, when the heavy affliction of his Majesty's illneſs interrupted the government of his country,

public affairs were conducted with great apparent wiſdom :—the nation was recovering very faſt from the diſtreſſes of a moſt unfortunate and expenſive war ; —commerce was extending its limits—the revenues were increaſing their income—and, though loaded with a moſt burthenſome and unparalelled weight of taxes, the nation was ſatisfied. Wiſe alliances had been formed, and others were forming. The energies of our government had been made known to the world, and the Britiſh character raiſed to its former importance in the eye of mankind, without the impoſition of any new burthen on the people, or any infringement on thoſe funds which had been already appropriated by Parliament, to the regular diminution of the national debt. Such, I think, was our ſituation ; and a better, could hardly be expected, when the nation was called to contemplate the moſt affecting object a proſperous people could behold, and to provide ſuch means as were neceſſary to ſupply the unprecedented exigencies of the very alarming juncture.

THE firſt wiſh my mind urged me to expreſs was in common with the whole kingdom, that his MAJESTY might be ſhortly reſtored to his capacity of tranſacting the public buſineſs of the nation. The ſecond deſire of my heart was, that the adminiſtration of Government might proceed without any change in the perſons who compoſed it.—Indeed, in the firſt view of the unfortunate event, and the earlieſt exertion of conjecture, on the conſequences of it, I did not ſuppoſe it probable that any alteration would be immediately attempted by the Regent power, whether that power ſhould be exerciſed by an individual, or an aggregate body.—That the Miniſters whom the King approved, while he poſſeſſed a capacity to approve, ſhould, the moment that capacity was ſuſpended, be diſcharged from their ſtations, without having committed any act, been guilty of any neglect, or diſcovered any incapability which could juſtify their diſmiſſion, would be a meaſure too full of indecency to the King, of injuſtice to his ſervants, and inſult to the nation, for any one to adviſe. But I had ſo

far forgotten the ways of mankind, and the conteſts for power, as to be the dupe of my own humble notions of public virtue. I really could not conceive that the firſt thing which would occur to the party in oppoſition was, that the lapſe of the ſovereign's capacity to govern, ſhould be conſidered by them as the ſignal to make an attempt to ſeize the helm: and it did not appear to me to be within the ſcope of poſſibility, that, if they were hungry and ambitious enough to make the effort, they would be encouraged to purſue their object by a great perſonage, who could derive honour from the awful period by no other conduct than that of immoveable patience and ſilent dignity. But I was ſoon awakened from this idle dream of political virtue. The exultations of a late deſpairing party appeared to mingle with the firſt ſighs of thoſe who embraced no party at all, or had loſt the influence of any in a ſenſe of the common affliction.

At the moment when the hand of Heaven ſmote his Majesty, the adminiſtration of Mr.

Mr. *Pitt* ſeemed to be fixed as firm as the monarch's life: the hopes of his opponents were ſunk very low in the ſocket, and their re-poſſeſſion of power was an object ſo diſtant in the landſcape of politics, as to claim their patience, rather than their expectation. Mr. *Fox*, the great leader and parliamentary ſupport of this party, had left his country and all his patriot cares, to ramble, no one knew where, on the continent, and to recover himſelf from the fatigues of political ſtrife in the arms of faded beauty. He little thought that his domeſtic enjoyments would ſo ſoon be interrupted by new proſpects of power, nor could he dream that while he was pointing out to the chaſte *Armſtead*, the ſcattered beauties of ancient magnificence, beneath an Italian ſky, his disjointed party were impatiently longing for his preſence at home, to form the political phalanx, and direct its operations.

It has been ſaid that the *Prince of Wales* conſiders himſelf under ſuch peculiar obligations to this party, that he cannot do otherwiſe than ſeize the very firſt opportu-

nity which occurs, to call them into power. It is alſo aſſerted that Mr. *Pitt* has acted with ſo much perſonal oppoſition to the views of the *Heir Apparent*, as to juſtify the royal diſpleaſure, in taking the earlieſt occaſion to diſmiſs him from the public ſervice. We can only reaſon from what we know,— and the ſame authority, by which I am informed that the *Prince of Wales* acknowledges very great obligations to thoſe men who have ſo long oppoſed his Father's Miniſters, inſtructs me to add, that he conſiders himſelf as indebted to their friendſhip alone, for the parliamentary arrangement of his private affairs, and his conſequent emancipation from that ſtate of inconvenience and perſonal diſtreſs in which his own imprudence had unfortunately involved him.——If his Royal Highneſs really believes that no relief would have been adminiſtered to his very unpleaſant ſituation, but by the interpoſition of Mr. *Fox* and his followers; if he is perſuaded that thoſe men had no views whatever of diſtreſſing government, and rendering Miniſters unpopular by ſuch an interpoſition; if his underſtanding

derſtanding is convinced that principles of public juſtice and perſonal affection to him were the ſole motives of their conduct on the occaſion, he is certainly juſtified in looking upon them with an eye of partial favour. If on the other hand, he can believe that Mr. *Pitt* would ſtep beyond all bounds of decency and common ſenſe; if he can be convinced that the Miniſter would riſk his reputation with a generous people, by becoming a wanton opponent to the reaſonable wiſhes of the *Heir Apparent*; if he can be perſuaded that the *Chancellor* of the *Exchequer* poſſeſſes ſuch an irreſiſtible command over the Houſe of Commons, as to make them concur in heaping needleſs mortifications on the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown, and is forward to exerciſe that influence; the wiſh of the royal mind to remove ſuch a man from power can be conſidered in no other view than as proceeding from a generous and a juſt reſentment.

As for mere perſonal conſiderations, I will not ſuppoſe that the Prince can ſuffer them to poſſeſs a leading influence on his political

political connections : it would be inſulting his underſtanding to imagine that he does not know how to diſtinguiſh between men qualified to amuſe his convivial hours at *Carlton Houſe*, or the *Marine Pavilion*, and ſuch as are bound to aſſiſt in the ſolemn councils of the State. He cannot but have oftentimes experienced the different operations of duty and deſire ; and why ſhould it not be ſuppoſed, that he has attained one of the moſt neceſſary faculties of his exalted ſtation, to reconcile the man and the Prince to each other :— perſonal predilection, and public duty, may be in a ſtate of variance, and no one can be ſo ignorant as to doubt where the ſacrifice is to be made.

We well know what diſtreſs and deſtruction favouritiſm has brought upon ſome of the monarchs of this country ; and it need not, ſurely, be urged that an *Heir Apparent* to the Britiſh Crown cannot act in a manner more hoſtile to his own intereſt and honour, than by adopting an extended ſpecies of favouritiſm, in conſenting to be the head of a party. The hiſtory of *Frederick*

Prince of Wales forms a fine leſſon for his royal Grandſon; and in *Lord Melcombe's* account of it, he may learn how to ſhape his conduct ſo as to ſecure happineſs to himſelf, and proſperity to his people, whenever he ſhall ſucceed to the throne of his anceſtors. I muſt, indeed, acknowledge that, were a *Prince of Wales* to hold himſelf forth as the protector of a party and, on his ſucceſſion to the throne, ſhould take that party with him to adminiſter the affairs of the country,—I ſhould not augur well of his future government. I am very far from intimating that an *Heir Apparent* to the crown of this kingdom ſhould hide himſelf, as it were, behind a curtain, or only preſent himſelf to public attention as a character of mere negative qualifications, and inſipid virtue; but of this I am confident, that he would do well to preſerve himſelf in calm and tranquil dignity, taking no violent part in public meaſures, and living in a continual ſtate of preparation to exerciſe the ſovereign authority, when he ſhould be called to the heritage of it. He ſhould not waſte his ſtrength in premature and petty efforts

efforts, but reſerve it for the great trial that awaits him; nor ſhould he oppoſe his mind to the danger of contracting the habits and prejudices of a party, which will certainly prevent him, when he attains the Crown, from being the King of more than half his people.

I do not mean to aſſert that the *Prince of Wales* had hitherto ſet himſelf at the head of a Party, though he has certainly manifeſted a particular predilection to thoſe men who have not been remarkable for ſharing the favours of his Father. I have not heard that he has encouraged oppoſition to government by ſuffering political meetings to be held at *Carlton Houſe*; or aſſiſting himſelf at the *Councils* of *Piccadilly*, or *St. James's Street*: but the public accounts of parliamentary proceedings have informed me, that he has oppoſed the meaſures of adminiſtration, as a Peer of the realm, and that he has ſometimes added one vote to a minority in the Houſe of Lords. I ſhall not examine the truth of the obſervation, that the placing themſelves in

in a ridiculous ſituation is always diſgraceful to perſons of a certain rank and character; I ſhall not ſtay to enquire what is idle and what is dignified in an exalted ſtation; but I ſhall take the liberty to obſerve that, whoever adviſed the Prince to make himſelf a party in parliamentary debate, did not conſult the dignity and propriety of his great political character. His Royal Highneſs might liſten to the powerful eloquence and ſage counſels of many noble Peers, who are in the habit of engaging in the public deliberations of Parliament, and receive inſtruction from them: an occaſional attendance on the *Houſe* of *Lords*, for ſuch a purpoſe, might be of uſe to his future years: but to do that which is daily done, by a penſioned courtier on one ſide, and an hungry patriot on the other,—the giving a ſilent vote, cannot, in my opinion, be conſidered as a diſcipline, which may be reaſonably expected to afford any improvement or advantage to the Royal mind. I am very much diſpoſed to believe that the arts of a party may operate to the bringing about ſuch an act as this, in order to inform the people,

people, that, if they have not a leader, they have at leaſt a friend in one, whoſe attachment, though not productive of immediate advantage, is of great reverſionary eſtimation: and it is by the ſucceſs of party operations on a young and amiable mind, that I have been able to reconcile, to my own conception, that conduct which I have juſt mentioned, and always diſapproved.

ANOTHER reaſon perhaps may be ſuggeſted, which may have operated more powerfully to connect the Prince with the party in oppoſition to his Father's Miniſters, than any opinion he may profeſs of their ſuperior political talents, or any ſenſe he may entertain of his perſonal obligations to them. I allude, as you may ſuppoſe, to the myſterious connection which his Royal Highneſs has formed with Mrs. *F*———. When you did me the honour to command my opinions on political matters, you would not, certainly, expect from me a ſermon on the moral duties; I ſhall therefore, only expreſs my hope, in the language of *Henry* the IV. of *France*, that the Prince has virtues

tues ſufficient to hide this one failing, if conſidering his ſituation and the moral conſequences of the connection, ſuch a term can be properly adopted. Previous to his attachment to this Lady, the paſſions, it is too well known, treated him with as little reſerve as the meaneſt of their votaries; and under their influence he was continually ſeen in thoſe pavilions of pleaſure where honour is not known:—it was therefore very fortunate for himſelf, and, of courſe, beneficial to the nation, that he became ſtationary ſomewhere; and in particular with a perſon whoſe ſituation in life entitles her to every attention, which the laws of his country will allow him to beſtow. This connection, however, has been conſidered by the nation in general, as a political object of no ſmall conſequence, and I muſt acknowledge myſelf to be one of thoſe who think it demands no ſmall portion of public attention.

Of Mrs. *F*———, I can venture to write with ſome knowledge; I have property not far diſtant from *Acton Burnell*, the ſeat

ſeat of the elder branch of her family, and have been in the habits of communication with them. They are of antient origin in this country, and poſſeſs all the pride common to thoſe who can look far back to an honourable and illuſtrious anceſtry; nor can there be any reaſon to ſuppoſe that Mrs. *F*——— is inſenſible to the diſtinction of her family:—her education was in France, where this principle was not likely to loſe its influence; and her firſt marriage was into one of the moſt wealthy families of the Roman Catholic religion in this kingdom. The having been Miſtreſs of *Lulworth Caſtle*, was a circumſtance of no ſmall dignity to private life;—and her ſecond marriage with Mr. *F*———, of *Swinnerton*, in *Staffordſhire*, continued her in that ſtate of habitual importance, which would effectually preſerve her from being tempted into any degradation of her character. Beſides, the dowers and legacies of her different marriages qualified her to command all the elegance of faſhionable life; ſo that I cannot be made even to ſuſpect that her preſent ſituation is not juſtified to *herſelf*, by the ſolemnity of

of ſome engagement, or the ſanction of ſome ceremony, whatever it may have been.

When the great perſonage firſt declared himſelf her admirer, ſhe turned away from his proteſtations, and quitted the kingdom to avoid his importunities:—on her return, however, from the continent, ſhe found the paſſion of her Royal lover ſtill burning with its former ardour; and ſuch means were ſoon after employed as to make the lady no longer conſider it as a diſgrace to acknowledge herſelf the object of it. The exterior of this connection is evident to all the world; but the reality of it is an enigma which futurity muſt explain. That it has been confirmed by any form of matrimony has been contradicted, in the moſt authoritative manner, by Mr. *Fox*, in a place, where I truſt, he dare not attempt to deceive on ſuch a ſubject; while the lady herſelf, labouring under the imputation which, according to ſome ſcrupulous opinions, the Right Honourable Gentleman's aſſertion has connected with her character,

is received and visited, with great respect, not only by the *Duchesses* of *Devonshire* and *Portland*, and many other female persons of distinction, connected with the opposition leaders, but, if report speaks true, by personages of a still more exalted station: but be that as it may, it will not, I believe, be denied that the political minority have paid their court to the Prince by their attentions to Mrs. *F*——— : certain engagements, on their part, have, indeed, been suggested which I shall not mention, because I do not give them a willing credit. When it is said that the Prince has set his heart upon a future measure, which it will require extraordinary courage to propose, the greatest abilities to defend, and the utmost exertion of power to support, I have my doubts as to the truth of such a determination;—I can believe in the wish, but I know not how to give credit to the design. Some of the party with the view of attaching the Prince irrevocably to their cause, may have hinted at something like the promise of a favourite gratification :— of Mr. Sheridan's forward compliance I have

no

no doubt; though I confeſs myſelf pleaſed with the report, that encourages me to plaee ſome confidence in the conſtitutional coyneſs of Mr. *Fox* in a matter of this nature;—but if the *Duke of Portland* were to hear it mentioned a ſecond time, as a practicable buſineſs, without retorting the utmoſt diſdain at ſuch a propoſition, and withdrawing himſelf from a political connection with ſuch as were capable of making it, I ſhould inſtantly ceaſe to conſider him as an object of my eſteem, and add his name to the catalogue of thoſe men who have diſgraced their rank, fortune, and underſtanding, by ſubmitting to become the tools of a faction, or the puppets of a party.

To this party, however,—whatever may be his motives, whether a ſimilitude of political opinion, a belief of their ſuperior talents and integrity, a ſenſe of perſonal attachment, or the hope of future ſervice—the Prince has given very decided marks of his preference:— this being the caſe, it is a natural proceſs for me, to examine into the characters of the leading in-

dividuals who compoſe it, in order to diſcover, how far we may juſtify any, and what expectations of public advantage is to be derived in future from the royal predilection.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND,

GIVES a ſupport to the party, by his name, which receives but little comparative aid from his abilities. I would not, however, be thought to imply that this nobleman does not poſſeſs a very conſiderable portion of underſtanding; but it is of that nature which, by no means, qualifies him to be the leader of a political band, or the prime miniſter of his country. While he poſſeſſes the integrity, he wants that firmneſs of mind which diſtinguiſhed his predeceſſor the *Marquis of Rockingham*; who, without poſſeſſing what is called great talents, was capable of thinking for himſelf, and held his courſe with that kind of dignity, which annihilated all attempts to practiſe impoſition upon him. The *Duke of Portland's* virtues are ſuch, as to conciliate no ſmall ſhare of public regard; but they do not, I fear, poſſeſs the texture which will

will protect them from the power of men who poſſeſs not the leaſt degree of his merit. That this nobleman will act, according to the beſt of bis judgment, is an opinion I poſſeſs in common with the nation at large; but whether he has a ſufficient diſcernment to preſerve his judgement from being miſled by the craft of others, is a circumſtance of which I ſhould heſitate to form any ſanguine expectations. The tedious and mortifying embarraſſments of his fortune did not ariſe from any inordinate paſſions or vicious habits of his own; but from his friendſhip for men who were governed by both. As a private individual, his virtues have rendered him the dupe of artful and deſigning men; and I cannot but expreſs my apprehenſion, that, in his political conduct, he may become ſubject to a ſimilar influence.

Mr. FOX

HAS been, for ſome years, a very harraſſed topic of political criticiſm, and party declamation.——News-papers, pamphlets,

and parliamentary ſpeeches, have long conſidered him, according to their different propenſities, as the ableſt Miniſter in Europe, or the moſt dangerous man in the kingdom. As to his abilities, they poſſeſs all the preeminence attributed to them by the moſt ſanguine of his followers; and his ambition keeps pace with his abilities. The Coalition proves what he will do to get into power, and his India Bill diſcovers the means he is capable of adopting to ſecure the poſſeſſion of it. But I have, notwithſtanding, very little apprehenſion of Mr. *Fox* as a dangerous public character in this country. I do not think him in a capacity to do much miſchief, even if he ſhould poſſeſs the malicious inclination. He may have led individuals of the higheſt and loweſt claſſes by the noſe;---he may have gulled the duke and the cobler---he may have governed a political party, or gained a popular election, by the exertion of his verſatile genius; but he has not yet won the confidence of the nation at large. He is with them an unpopular, and a ſuſpected character—and, in the preſent ſtate of public

lic affairs, without that confidence, no eſſential miſchief can be done to the country by any Miniſter whatever.—The man who is an object of national ſuſpicion, may poſſeſs the courage, but muſt want the ſagacity of Mr. *Fox*, if he attempts to impoſe upon the people. The greateſt political talents will not enſure general confidence to a Miniſter, if they are not accompanied by a conſiderable portion of private virtue, as a pledge for their application to the general good.---By private virtue, I do not mean thoſe qualities which form the charm of diſſipated life, animate convivial intemperance, drown ſerious thoughts, and ſteal away precaution from the heart; but the love of what is right, and the reſolution to practiſe it in every poſition of our exiſtence. Such a ſenſe of moral duty Mr. *Fox* is not ſuppoſed to poſſeſs: indeed, ſuch a life as his has hitherto been, is by no means calculated to produce or encourage it. The gaming table is a place where I ſhould never look for a ſingle virtue; and how much of his time, his fortune and his honour, have been waſted there, I do not wiſh to enquire. As

to his public conduct, which appears to be nothing more than an enlarged modification of his private principles, it preſents a ſeries of inconſiſtences which fill me with aſtoniſhment and ſorrow, whenever the circumſtances of the times force them upon my reflection. I cannot but lament that a man ſo highly gifted as he is, ſhould have rendered himſelf ſo uſeleſs to his country--- and that his ſplendid talents are forced continually to their beſt exertion, in repeated but fruitleſs endeavours to reconcile the numerous contradictions of his political character. In ſhort, without obſerving farther upon one of the moſt lamentable examples of intellectual perverſion we have ever known, I ſhall conclude with this declaration, which is all that is neceſſary to my purpoſe, that, to expreſs myſelf in the mildeſt terms— *Mr. Fox does not poſſeſs the confidence of the nation.*

LORD

LORD NORTH.

WAS an unfortunate Miniſter; but whatever political crimes were imputed to him by his preſent friends, the nation held him blameleſs. He poſſeſſed the popular credit of being a faithful and zealous, though unſucceſsful ſervant of the State, and the eſteem of his country accompanied his retreat from power. His enemies, who affected to deſpiſe him when cloathed with greatneſs, found him formidable in ruin, and were glad to unite his ſtrength with theirs. His perſonal influence was ſtill moſt flattering to him; he remained a very powerful individual in this country, and nothing could have prevented his return to office, with honour to himſelf and ſatisfaction to the people, but his infatuated junction with a ſet of men who had perſecuted him, for years, with the moſt malicious, and unrelenting oppoſition, that had ever been carried on againſt any Miniſter; with men, whoſe enmity, even the mild ſpirit of Chriſtianity could not require him to forgive;

give ; and with whom, I conſider it almoſt criminal in him, to form any perſonal connection. Here then he took a long farewell of public reſpect and popular eſtimation ; the calamity with which he is afflicted may perhaps awaken ſomewhat of general pity, but the honourable regard of his country he has loſt for ever.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK,

FROM his rank, fortune, manly underſtanding and parliamentary influence, muſt add a very conſiderable degree of ſtrength to any party which he may chuſe to ſupport ; nevertheleſs, I am diſpoſed to think, that the recollection of his inſignificance, before he became the immediate heir of the *Norfolk Family*, the diſſipation of his life, and the renunciation of his religion, will operate very powerfully againſt his acquiring any ſtability of popular regard. From his firſt appearance in life, he has been too much engaged in the miſcellany of it, to be a ſecret Bigot to his former religion, as many proteſtant converts have been ; and his

his mind is of too active a nature, to ſuffer him to remain at eaſe under any influence, which obliged him to be an idle ſpectator of the leading concerns of the world. He did not, however, quit popery while it had any thing further to beſtow; it had given him the irrevocable ſettlement of the Norfolk Eſtates, and a very wealthy *Hereſordſhire Heireſs*, before he quitted the errors of it: I well know that Miſs *Fitzroy* was a proteſtant Lady, but, at the ſame time, I am more than inclined to believe, that it was to the contrivance of Mr. *Booth*, the Roman Catholic conveyancer, and the arts of a Governeſs, of the ſame religious perſuaſion, that his Grace owes the poſſeſſion of the preſent *Ducheſs of Norfolk*. I I will not throw ſo great a ridicule on the character of this Nobleman, as to ſuppoſe that the ſpiritual advantages of one religion over another, had any influence on his converſion: our Church is, I believe, indebted for ſuch noble proſelyte to very different conſiderations. To live in that ſtate of ſuperb inſignificance, which had contented the weakneſs of his predeceſſors, was by no

no means congenial to his buſy diſpoſition: he was not formed to be a calm ſpectator of thoſe conteſts, in which his temper diſpoſed him to engage, and his ſituation qualified him to take a command; and a few minutes pious reading, in St. Martin's Church, gave him at once to the political ſervice of his Country. Previous to his recantation he had been known, in his convivial hours to declare, that the greateſt poſſible pleaſure of his life, would be to contend for the repreſentation of a County, and to gain the Election by a ſingle vote. The proverb ſays, *in vino veritas*,— and the application of it was never more fortunately made than on the preſent occaſion. Parliamentary buſineſs, in its various branches, is the darling object of the *Duke of Norfolk's* attention. In the Houſe of Commons he was an active ſenator; in the Houſe of Lords he is a perſevering Peer; and, in every part of the Kingdom where his great Eſtates give him influence, an indefagitable Canvaſſer :—*Hereford*, *Carliſle*, *Arundel*, and *Glouceſter* are the ſcenes of his active endeavours to form a powerful phalanx of

parliamentary adherents. But I have my doubts if this itch for carrying Elections, will give him any weight beyond the party who is to profit by it. The mere pride of bringing friends into Parliament from the application of a great fortune, and the exertion of ſuperior addreſs, partake of that weakneſs which annexes conſequence to a ſtud of horſes, or a kennel of hounds. His Grace has private virtues and he exerciſes them in the beſt manner; he is ſteady in his political principles, which is a ſpecies of dignity; he is not fond of diſplaying the exterior eclat of his exalted ſtation, which will be conſidered by ſome, as one ſymptom at leaſt, of a ſuperior mind:— Nevertheleſs, from a ſuppoſed depravity, in the indulgence of certain paſſions, and a ſuſpicion that characteriſtic inclination, predominates over patriotiſm, in the ardor of his political carreer, the *Duke of Norfolk* will not, I think, become a character of much public confidence in this country.

THE HOUSE OF CAVENDISH,

POSSESSES a very conſiderable ſhare of private virtue, but unaſſociated as it is with great talents, and habituated as it has ſo long been to the trammels of political conteſt, I feel my reſpect for that family continue no longer, than while I view them in the confined ſphere of domeſtic life; there they act [redacted] from themſelves,— while in national concerns they have ſo long been the dupes, that they are at length become the ſlaves of a party. The Nephew does what his Uncles bid him, and the Uncles conſider Mr. *Fox* as the ableſt ſtateſman, the firmeſt patriot, and the moſt virtùous man in the world.

THE NAME OF RUSSEL,

MAY be dear to Engliſh Liberty, but what ſhould be the effect of a name, if he who now bears it belies the patriot virtues of his anceſtors which made it honourable. We may admire the Progenitor, while we

deſpiſe

deſpiſe the Progeny. The hereditary right of particular families to the favour of the Crown and the confidence of the people, is the moſt egregious nonſenſe that was ever uttered by political Fanaticiſm. The late *Duke of Bedford* was inſolent to his Sovereign, and humble to his favourite; he was proved in a court of Law to have ſold a Borough; and he moved the Houſe of Peers to order the *Mayor of London* to the bar becauſe he gave a caſting vote in the common council againſt thanking the Sheriffs for having done nothing, in the ſilly buſineſs of burning the North Briton. This example of audacious indecorum, deſpicable humility, avowed corruption, and ariſtocratic tyranny was a *Ruſſel* of his ſucceſſor little:—I believe, is known, but that he enters into life with all the peculiar knowledge which the *Duke of Queenſbury* may be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs in the matured period of his departure out of it.

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

WHO is a new adherent and boaſted acquiſition to this party, has never yet preſented himſelf by any great or brilliant action, to the notice of mankind: his American command was a mere piece of military parade, while, with all his predilection for the army, and his ſtudious application to tactics, I have never heard him repreſented by thoſe who have ſerved under him, but as a teazing Martinet and a ſupercilious Commander. In the ſphere of politics he is only known by his late appearance as the tranſient head of a very ſhort lived party, called the neutrality armed, to which, though aſſiſted by ſo able an Aid de Camp as *Lord Rawdon*, he could not communicate ſufficient importance, to laſt beyond a day: it ſeems to have ſunk with his Grace into the arms of oppoſition, and proves how little can be done by high rank, and great property, without the ſtrengthening aid of eminent talents and public character. Ever ſince he ſucceeded to the honours

honours and fortune of his family, this Nobleman ſeems to have been like a forward child, that cries for ſomething which cannot be immediately obtained. Does he think the ordnance would thrive under his care? or is a regiment of Guards the bauble of his ambition?—From the late conduct of his Grace, I ſhould ſuſpect that the *Duke of Argyle's* health declines, and that the reverſion of his Military command is already ſecured.

I ſhould not have mentioned the character of theſe opulent Dukes but in a very general manner, if much improper ſtreſs did not appear to be laid upon their ſupport of the party which is now under my conſideration; and that a kind of natural claim has been made to the confidence of the people from the languid wealth of their noble houſes. That power follows property is a general maxim which oftentimes requires ſome degree of qualification. An union of the influence poſſeſſed by theſe great families may produce great parliamentary ſtrength; but it is not the poſſeſſion of power, ſo much

much as the knowledge how to employ it, that ſecures a popular importance to any body of men : but I ſhall leave theſe barren and unintereſting ſubjects for one of an higher claſs, though unadorned with the pageantry of birth, rank or fortune.

EDMUND BURKE,

Is a genius of the firſt order, whoſe ſuperior abilities and univerſal Erudition have been rendered uſeleſs by an unnatural application of them. Upwards of twenty years has he been exerting thoſe talents, which were given him to enlighten his country, to adorn his age, and to improve mankind, in the ſervice of a party which has added but little to his fortune, and narrowed the limits of his fame. To enlarge the map of hiſtory, to aid the reſearches of philoſophy, to illuminate the paths of ſcience, to render irreſiſtible the charms of truth and virtue ; in ſhort, to forward the exalted purpoſe of making men happier and better, ſhould have been the employment of his life, and he would

would then have ſecured a place among thoſe illuſtrious characters who have done moſt honour to their nature, and the greateſt ſervice to the world. But ambition cheated him into the deſire of greatneſs, and, inſtead of paſſing his days in *Academic Bowers*, where his genius would have found all home, and his fame have flouriſhed without a withering leaf, he engaged with all the fervour of his mind, in the political conteſts of the times, and has diſſipated his energies, his eloquence and his knowledge, in ſupport of a Party, which has rewarded his zeal with little more than the interrupted *hear-hims* of Parliamentary applauders. His eloquence is rapid, animated and highly adorned ; but it amuſes rather than inſtructs, and by its brilliance, weakens the attention which it ſo ſtrongly ſolicits : beſides the moſt partial friends of Mr. *Burke* are forced to acknowledge that his judgment does not keep pace with his other faculties, and as he advances in years, his encreaſing irritability of temper, tends rather to diminiſh the little ſtock he poſſeſſes of that precious quality of the mind. I do not mean

it as an example of my laſt aſſertion, when I declare the opinion, that this Gentleman poſſeſſes a much larger portion of integrity than any of his active political coadjutors; and I have no doubt but his rigid love of what he thinks to be right, has cauſed him frequently to do and ſay things, which, in the opinion of his friends, were extremely wrong:—whether it is owing to ſuch errors, his encreaſing years, or any apparent diminution of his talents, I do not know; but his political conſequence, which never attained the meridian of the world, appears at this time, to be declining very faſt to the horizon of his party.

LORD LOUGHBOROUGH,

Poſſeſſes eminent talents, which are accompanied with a ready and commanding eloquence. By the favour of *Lord Bute* he firſt obtained a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, and having, by a very aſſiduous attention to the buſineſs of it, become a Parliamentary Debater of ſufficient conſequence to excite the regard of contending parties,

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he availed himſelf of political circumſtances as they aroſe, to forward the views of his ambition.—Such a plan of conduct did not promiſe any ſtability of public principle; and we find Mr. *Wedderburne* in the courſe of the preſent Reign, connected with every ſet of men that have ſupported or oppoſed the meaſures of Government. His patriot oratory is ſtill remembered at *York*, where he employed its utmoſt energy to enforce the neceſſity of addreſſes, petitions and remonſtrances from that reſpectable County, though he did not poſſeſs an inch of property in it. His animated reprobation of the conduct of Miniſters reſpecting the *Middleſex* Election, is not forgotten by *Mr. Wilkes*; while the friends of the *American War* cannot but recollect with admiration, his celebrated Phillipic at the *Cock-pit* againſt Dr. *Franklin*, which drove the hoary Politician acroſs the Atlantic, to arouſe the Colonies to a declaration of independence. His powerful defence of *Lord Clive* when called to the Bar of the Commons, is a circumſtance of which the world is in full poſſeſſion; and was conſidered with grati-

tude by every man who returned with ſpoils from the Eaſt, till he cauſed the ſincerity of his former conduct to be ſuſpected, by the ardour of his eloquence, when he called down the vengeance of the laws upon thoſe men who were charged with a conſpiracy againſt *Lord Pigot's* Government and life.—Thus he proceeded, making his profeſſion of the Law ſecondary to his Parliamentary carreer, till he was appointed to be chief of the court of common Pleas, and called to the *Houſe of Peers*, in oppoſition to the long ſtanding claims, which were aſſerted to both thoſe honours by the late *Lord Grantley*, then Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. Thus has this nobleman won his way to the elevated ſituation which he now occupies. As to his private virtues I am not ſufficiently informed to write concerning them; but this I know, that popular eſteem has never waited upon any period of his life; and it ſeems to be generally believed, that the individuals of the party which now depends ſo much upon his Parliamentary aſſiſtance, do not conſider him with perſonal veneration. It has certainly been too much the

object of modern *Lawyers* to mingle in political conteſts, and this noble *Lord* ſeems to have taken the lead in this kind of practice. "Mute at the Bar and in the ſenate loud," is the deſcription of him thirty years ago by the beſt poet of that day; and I muſt acknowledge, that we who live at ſome diſtance from the capital, know little of him in the form of a Judge, aſſiduouſly employed in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice — we hear of him only as an able and active *Lord* of Parliament, whoſe eloquence and abilities have been continually exerted in oppoſition to Mr. *Pitt*'s Adminiſtration.— When *Lord Loughborough*'s idea preſents itſelf to me, it is not in the figure of a grave Magiſtrate, preſiding in the court of Common Pleas, but as an able political Partizan in the *Houſe of Lords*: in ſhort, he has never been an object of national regard. I do not ſay that he is deſtitute of thoſe great qualities which command public veneration, or that he is without thoſe mild virtues which conciliate general eſteem: I am far from aſſerting that he poſſeſſes any littleneſs of character which keeps reſpect at a diſtance;

I do not even hint that the lines of *Churchill* which deſcribe him, and the ſarcaſms of *Junius* which are applied to him, are founded in truth: I do not liſten to the calumny which has written his name in the liſt of a *Gaming Club*; but I ſhall not heſitate to repeat without fear of reproof, that he is not diſtinguiſhed by *the popular regard of his Country*.

In the common language of the world, that perſon is called an *Adventurer* who depends upon the credulity of others for advantage, without having any thing of his own to riſk in return. Nor is this title more applicable to the Merchant without a capital, or the Gameſter without a guinea, than to the man who, without an atom of property, or a grain of principle, is brought forward by a party to ſerve their political purpoſes, and is preſerved from a Goal by the privilege of Parliament. In our days, the political adventurer, is no uncommon character, and oftentimes meets with a degree of protection, which is too rarely obtained by patriot virtue.

Mr.

Mr. SHERIDAN,

THOUGH by no means poſſeſſed of ſufficient conſequence or character to be conſidered as a political leader, is ſuch a brilliant ſatellite of Mr *Fox*, that he cannot be paſſed without ſomewhat of particular attention. Mr. *S*——— has riſen by the extent and ſubſervience of his abilities, from a comparative ſtate of obſcurity, to a point of no common conſideration with the party which has adopted him. His eloquence is of a very ſuperior quality, and, on particular occaſions, has been exerted with ſuch reſiſtleſs power, as to force the moſt avowed applauſe from thoſe who have the leaſt belief in his poſſeſſion of public virtue, or private principle: but with all his acknowledged capacity to engage in ſerious debate, he is thought to be more uſefully employed as the parliamentary *Congreve* of his party. To pervert a meaning, to play happily upon an expreſſion, to retort a ſarcaſm, to ſeize an equivoque, to ſport an irony, to create a laugh, to employ the tricks of public ſpeaking,

ſpeaking, and exert all that playful kind of oratory which the *Speaker Onſlow* would have conſidered as degradatory to the proceedings of Parliament, this gentleman is without a rival. But a man without property or perſonal rank, who owes his maintenance to the ſurpriſing kindneſs of thoſe who truſt him, and the elemoſynary bounty of thoſe who protect him, can never attain to any ſolid conſequence in this country: he may be elevated by intrigue, ſome ſtrange concuſſion of events may lift him on high, or the wayward partiality of favour may advance him, but ſomething more than brilliant talents is neceſſary to the attainment of public confidence, and that *ſomething* he is not believed to poſſeſs.—If the report is founded in fact, that among the arrangements of the new Adminiſtration, the *Duke of Portland* turned with diſdain from the propoſition of making Mr. *Sheridan* a Cabinet Miniſter; his Grace acted with that honeſt dignity which became him, and which for the ſake of his country, and his ſovereign, I truſt, he will continue to maintain.

Such,

SUCH, my friend, are the more prominent characters of the party whom the *Prince of Wales* distinguishes with his favour. It would be a waste of my time and your patience to develope the talents of *Lord Stormont*, Mr. *Erskine*, Mr. *Anstruther*, Mr. *Adam*, Colonel *Fullarton* and others of their countrymen, whom the conciliating powers of Mr. *Fox*, who knows how and when to smother his most inveterate prejudices, have won to his support: I shall, therefore, come at once to the resulting character of the party at large; that it consists on the one hand, of great property, some virtue and no talents; and on the other, of great talents, without any property or virtue at all.

SUCH is my honest opinion, which arises from a very impartial and disinterested view of the principal persons engaged in the opposition cohort. An examination of their conduct, from the time when *Lord Rockingham* gave them his name, to the unhappy moment which we now deplore, would not elevate them, I fear, in your opinion or mine; but we are at present confined, to a very

very few months, and during that ſhort period, I can diſcover nothing in their conduct, which does not manifeſt the moſt bold and indecent attempt to obtain the Government of this country, that was ever exhibited by any ſet of men, in any period of our hiſtory. A very brief review of their conduct on the melancholy occaſion which has changed their proſpects and elevated their hopes, will amply juſtify my aſſertion.

No ſooner was the awful viſitation of Heaven on our *Sovereign* communicated by the Royal Phyſicians to the *Prince of Wales*, and the Adminiſtration, than the ſcattered Members of the party began to hold up their heads, and enjoy the enlivening expectation of a better and more honourable dependence than the *Faro Table*, which had ſo long been the principal ſupport of ſo many of them. Mr. *Sheridan* was ordered to remain in waiting by a great perſonage, to receive his communications, and to perform ſuch little agencies for him as the critical juncture might be thought to require. Nothing, however, could be done but to diſſeminate

reports

reports, to ſcatter opinions, and propagate doctrines, in order to prepare the people for their deſigns, as ſoon as Mr. *Fox* could be brought from the continent, to give them form and put them in motion. That gentleman was, at this time, conducting ſuch a woman as Mrs. *Armſtead* through *France* and *Italy*, and was called from that honourable duty to head his party, and govern an Empire. His arrival gave ſomething of conſiſtence to the operations of his friends; the *Prince* became a more avowed patron of the oppoſition band, and a claim was made, as we may ſuppoſe, with his conſent, by perſons high in his confidence, to the *right* of ſucceeding to the Government, in the preſent lapſe of his MAJESTY's capacity, without any operation of Parliament, but a ready and unreſerved aſſent to it. But the ſentiments both of Parliament and the people militating ſtrongly againſt ſuch a claim, as being a kind of high treaſon to the conſtitution of this country, the declarations of thoſe who had made it, were retracted or explained away, and very great perſonages were brought forward in debate, in order to

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quiet the alarms which had gone forth on the promulgation of ſuch an anti-conſtitutional doctrine. Fortunately for the nation, the eagerneſs to graſp at power perverted the judgment of thoſe men who call themſelves the *Prince's* friends, ſo that they let the whole kingdom at once, into a view of their deſigns, and confirmed the neceſſity of that wiſe ſpirit of precaution, which has been exerted againſt them.

HAVING been foiled in this very bold attempt, their next object was to prevent the Regency, which was now conſtitutionally acknowledged to be the gift of Parliament, from being accompanied with thoſe reſtrictions, with which his Majeſty's Miniſters propoſed to guard the rights of the Conſtitution, and the dignity of the afflicted Sovereign. To attack the political character of the Miniſter, on this occaſion, was a very natural meaſure, and to exhibit him as a competitor for power with the *Prince of Wales*, was an effuſion of party rage, congenial to the fervid eloquence of Mr. *Burke*. But ſuch things were in the

ordinary mode of political conteſt, and the ſituation of the Party required ſomething of more effectual manœuvre. This they did not heſitate to employ; and the *Queen* was the object of it. To the aſtoniſhment and grief of every perſon in the kingdom, not immediately connected with the calumniators themſelves, there appeared in the *Morning Herald* an attack upon the conſort of our *Sovereign*, and the mother of the *Prince of Wales*, which not only treated her name with contempt, but annexed ſomething of implied guilt to her character, and menaced her *Majeſty* with the publication of it, if ſhe ſhould be perſuaded to interpoſe, in any manner whatever, in the preſent ſtate of affairs:—That the *Queen*, whom calumny had ever acknowledged to be above its reach,—whoſe whole life has been one ſcene of dignified virtue, ſhould, in a moment of affliction, which language is inadequate to deſcribe, and the conſolation of an Empire not ſufficient to mitigate, be vilified and menaced by the pen of a party which boaſts the protection of her ſon, is

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an event that compleats the infamy of domeſtic politics.

When I make this aſſertion, I do it upon the credit of very ſufficient information, that it is a principle of the party to hold in high eſtimation the auxiliary powers of the public prints; and that a ſubordinate committee of themſelves ſits daily, and, perhaps nightly too, at a well known Tavern, in *Covent Garden*, to ſhape paragraphs, frame hand-bills, and propagate falſehoods; in ſhort, to do their utmoſt, by any and every means, to inflame the people againſt the *King's* friends, and to influence their minds in favour of their own maſters. Nay, ſo much do the oppoſition ſeem to depend on this mode of proceeding,—that a provincial paper, printed in my neighbourhood, has been purchaſed to abuſe Government, and inflammatory hand-bills ſeem to have been blown through the air, to our market towns, in order, (as one of my farmers expreſſed himſelf) to make people as glad as the writers of them, that the *King* was out of his mind. That the *Morning Herald*,

rald, devoted as it has ſo long been to oppoſition drudgery, ſhould inſert ſuch an article as I have deſcribed, without the authority or ſuggeſtion of ſome of the leading perſons of that party, which it uniformly ſupports, is not within the ſcope of my belief. It is ſaid, indeed, that the publiſher of this *Newſpaper*, is proſecuted by the *Attorney General* to the *Queen*, for a Libel, and it will be curious to enquire hereafter, from whoſe purſe the heavy Fine which a court of Juſtice may ſentence the delinquent, will proceed; and by whoſe kindneſs he will be enabled to paſs in comfort the term of impriſonment which he may be doomed to ſuffer. But notwithſtanding this inſult upon the character of the *Queen* was reprobated by every honeſt perſon in the kingdom, her popularity was a circumſtance too hoſtile to the intereſts of the party, to be permitted to paſs on without a continuation of attempts to leſſen it, by lies the moſt ridiculous, ſtories the moſt improbable, and fictions the moſt audacious that the profligate hirelings of faction could poſſibly deviſe: but the ſcandals died almoſt the moment they

were born ; and ſuch arts as theſe were not ſufficient to turn the affections of the people from an object that had never ceaſed to deſerve them.

THE ſecond examination of the Royal Phyſicians, relative to the ſtate of his *Majeſty's* health, was the next ſource of hope to the aſpiring party. I have read the report of the Committee with great attention, and was concerned to ſee the aſtoniſhing length to which an enquiry, which might have been made and ſatisfied in an hour, was protracted. The examinations of the ſeveral Phyſicians form a curioſity in their kind ; and a young Barriſter could not ſtudy the art of interrogatory to ſo much advantage in any other publication, as in the report of the Committee. Dr. *Willis*, in particular, who had declared the moſt ſanguine hopes of his *Majeſty's* recovery, and whoſe attentions are ſaid to be very conducive to that very deſirable end, was queſtioned and croſs queſtioned with a degree of ability which nothing but the genius of truth could have ſupported. This tedi-

ous buſineſs, however, produced a confirmation of the former opinion of the Phyſicians, that his MAJESTY was ſtill in a recoverable ſtate:—An opinion, which I will venture to ſay, did not give that peculiar ſatisfaction to ſome minds, which it did to moſt. The reaſon is obvious,— and I ſhall not enlarge upon it.

THUS did diſappointment cloud the proſpects of the Oppoſition Phalanx. The *Queen* proved ſuperior to all calumny: His MAJESTY is declared to be in a recoverable ſtate by all the Phyſicians, and by one of them, who is more intimately acquainted with the diſorder of the *Royal Patient*, he is repreſented to be in the actual progreſs of recovery:—Mr. *Pitt's* popularity is confirmed or confirming in every part of the kingdom; and Dr. *Willis*, in ſpite of Medical differences, etiquettes, &c. ſtill remains in full power at *Kew*. Thus driven from every poſt they have hitherto endeavoured to maintain, the Party apply to their laſt, and, as it appears to me, moſt powerful reſource,—the letter written by the *Prince* in

anſwer to Mr. *Pitt's* official communication to his Royal Highneſs, of the reſtrictions on the Regency, which his *Majeſty's Servants* propoſed to ſubmit to the conſideration of Parliament, as ſafeguards to the Conſtitution, and the Rights of an afflicted Sovereign. Though it was evidently written with a view to ſubſequent publication, if ſuch a meaſure ſhould be found neceſſary to anſwer any particular purpoſe, it had lain for ſome time on the *Duke of Portland's* table, to be peruſed by ſuch perſons as were admitted to an audience of his Grace. At length, however, it was preſented to the public, through the favourite channel of a Newſpaper, where I have ſeen it in common with the reſt of the nation.

WITH this letter I ſhall beg leave to take the ſame liberty which is experienced by the ſovereign's ſpeeches from the throne.—I ſhall conſider it as the joint production of Mr. *Sheridan*, Mr. *Fox*, and Lord *Loughborough*—and treat it accordingly. Its more apparent object was to make ſuch people as look not beyond the ſurface of things, to believe

believe.—Firſt, That Mr. *Pitt* inſults the *Prince* by propoſing any limitations of the Regency, as they mark a diſtruſt of his Royal Highneſs's deſigns in the government of the kingdom.—2dly, That he inſults the *King*, in his affliction, by reſtraining the *Prince* in a manner which will cauſe the moſt poignant mortification to his MAJESTY, whenever he ſhall be reſtored to his former power of reaſon and reflection.—3dly, That he inſults the people, by propoſing ſuch reſtrictions as will interrupt, if not render impracticable, the operations of government.—4thly, That he inſults the whole Royal Family, by giving ſuch a power to the *Queen*, in the care of the *King*'s perſon, and the government of his houſehold, as may beget diſſenſions in it.—— Such are the principal topics of this letter, which ought never to have ſeen the light; and will not, I believe, be found to have that effect upon the popular mind for which it was apparently publiſhed:—for I think, without preſumption, that it may be obſerved very concluſively in anſwer to it—Firſt, That the reſolutions of the Two

Houſes are not made in favour of, or againſt any particular individual, but are conſtitutional guards, provided for the ſafe reſumption of the prerogative, whenever the afflicted ſovereign ſhall be deemed competent to the re-exerciſe of it. The *Prince* or *Regent* ſhould have every power neceſſary for the government of the country; but it is the duty of Parliament to take care that he does not wear the crown. Nay, it appears to me, that the counſellors of the *Prince* have diſgraced the Royal mind, in making it appear to harbour ſuſpicions of inſult, where inſult could not be intended; as, in common life—a diſpoſition to ſuſpect the ill opinion of others, is generally conſidered, as preſumptive proof that we deſerve it. 2dly, That whenever it ſhall pleaſe Heaven, in its mercy to this nation, to heal the ſovereign of it, he will be ſo far from expreſſing any diſpleaſure at the conduct of his Miniſters, in the preſent important criſis, that his MAJESTY will rather feel mortification in the extreme at their having been removed from their ſtations, and make it the firſt act of his return to the throne, to re-

ſtore

ſtore them with every mark of honour, affection, and gratitude. 3dly, The people, ſo far from thinking themſelves inſulted by the reſtrictions on the Regency, conſider them as protections from the rapacity and ambition of the promiſed Adminiſtration. And 4thly, If the power given to the *Queen* ſhould prove a cauſe of uneaſineſs between her Majeſty and the Regent, I cannot but foreſee to whom ſuch an unfortunate diſſenſion muſt be neceſſarily attributed.---Let the *Prince* act aright, and the moſt profligate incendiary of faction will not dare to ſuggeſt, that the *Queen* will ſupport what is wrong, for no other purpoſe but to foment a vexatious oppoſition to her ſon.

But this letter contains another, though leſs apparent deſign, which is moſt cunningly contrived, and will certainly ſucceed; for it is ſo written as to pledge the *Prince* to diſmiſs the preſent Adminiſtration. After having accuſed Mr. *Pitt* of forming a project diſreſpectful to the *King*, injurious to the nation, and inſulting to himſelf, nothing but an inconſiſtency of character,

which cannot with juſtice be attributed to the *Prince*; or a ſpirit of political forgiveneſs, which his counſellors would effectually oppoſe, could influence him to employ that Miniſter. Thus Mr. *Fox* and his friends are ſecure of being appointed the political ſervants of the *Regent*. But they are not content; they wiſh to be the ſervants of a King; and they who, during their public lives, have been continually venting their eloquence againſt the alarming power of the Crown, are now in the continual exerciſe of outrageous declamation, becauſe that power is not communicated to a perſon who has no immediate right to wear the diadem. All the patronage of the army, the navy, the church, the law, the revenues, foreign courts, the Eaſt Indies, &c. &c. is not enough for them. They complain, in bitterneſs, that their followers muſt ſigh for coronets and patent places in vain; nay, ſuch is their inſatiate rapacity, that they would ſtrip their afflicted ſovereign of every appendage of his exalted ſtation, and leave him nothing but the name of a King.

Such then are the men whom the Prince of *Wales* takes to his boſom; men who do not poſſeſs the good opinion of their own nation, and will not, I fear, be regarded with the neceſſary confidence by any other. Such are the people whom his *Royal Highneſs* is infatuated to make the guides of his actions, at a period when he ſtands in a predicament unparalelled in the hiſtory of Princes. Such, alas! are to be the Miniſters of the *Regent* of Great-Britain.

It will, however, be greatly to the honour of the preſent Adminiſtration, that when the *Prince* diſmiſſes them from the ſervice of the country, they will retain its affections.—Proſperity reſtored, revenue increaſed, debt diminiſhed, character maintained, and a nation contented, are the characteriſtics of their government. After ſuch a declaration, which I believe to be founded in truth, and ſuſtained by experience, it would be unneceſſary to detail the individual merits and qualities of his MAJESTY's ſervants; yet it would prove an inſenſibility to ſuperior excellence, which I ſhould

ſhould be aſhamed to own, were I to paſs by, without obſervation, as a philoſopher, and without eulogium and gratitude as an Engliſhman, one of the firſt characters that have adorned the age, and advanced the glory of the country in which we live.

Mr. PITT,

At a time of life when moſt men only begin to think, entered upon the government of the moſt complicated empire in the world, when it was in a ſtate of difficulty, diſreſs, and embarraſſment which it had never known; and, with a prematurity of talent, which has no parallel, and in ſpite of the moſt able and inveterate Oppoſition that ever harraſſed the meaſures of a Miniſter, reſtored it, in a great degree, to its former ſtate of proſperity. You may obſerve, my friend, that there is ſomething like a charm in this great ſtateſman's name, ſo propitious to the glory of our country, which may attract me ſo powerfully to him; but I am too far advanced in my progreſs to be caught with the whiſtling of any name, and on the contrary,

contrary, I do moſt ſincerely declare, that it is in the great outline of his Adminiſtration—in his capacity, eloquence, induſtry, diſintereſtedneſs, integrity, and, which is the reſult of them all, in the growing proſperity and general good of our country, that I find his irreſiſtible claim to my applauſe and admiration. He may have committed errors as a Miniſter, as he may have his feelings as a man; for I am not deſcribing a divinity, but an human being—though ſuch a one, I believe, as, conſidering all his circumſtances and qualities, has not many equals on the face of the globe.—The *Prince* may diſcard Mr. *Pitt* from the ſervice of the nation: but an higher honour will then await him than princes have it in their power to beſtow: the nation whom he has ſerved will adopt him.

I COULD wiſh, at all times, to ſeparate law from politics---or rather lawyers from politicians; but ſince the circumſtances of the times have united them, I cannot but mention a Nobleman, in the higheſt office of government, whoſe great capacity involves

volves, and does honour to both thoſe characters.

LORD THURLOW

Possesses a moſt comprehenſive underſtanding, a ſtrong ſyſtematic judgement, a commanding eloquence, and a ſtubborn integrity. As a Lord of Parliament in whom is there more dignity, and from whoſe lips proceeds ſuch conſummate wiſdom.---As a Judge, at what time has the law known more official attention, more ſolemnity of demeanor, more patient inveſtigation, and more complete juſtice, than during the period of his adminiſtration in the Court of Chancery.

I Shall not lengthen this letter, already too long, by entering at large into the characters of thoſe perſons who compoſe the Miniſtry of the afflicted King. It will be ſufficient for me to ſay what, in my opinion, events have ſufficiently proved, that they form an aggregate of talents and qualities

qualities fully capable of conducting the public buſineſs with honour to themſelves, and advantage to the empire.

THIS Adminiſtration is acknowledged by every impartial perſon to be ſtrong in ability, integrity, and popular eſteem; and it is this general conviction which has enabled them to act, and poſſeſs themſelves as they have done, at the moment when they are falling from power. The ſervants of the ſovereign have, in general, remained true to their maſter, and very few indeed have followed the example of the Duke of *Queenſberry*, who was the *firſt* to quit the uſual ſervice of the King, and the *laſt* to care for the public opinion of his apoſtacy.

Such then is the picture of public affairs at the moment when I have the honour of addreſſing myſelf to you. The King, deprived of his capacity to govern, and the nation on the eve of being deprived of an Adminiſtration, who, in their opinion, have governed them well, and without being able to derive any comfort from the hope of an

an Adminiſtration that will govern them better. It is painful indeed, to glance even at the cauſe of ſuch a change.—It is with the moſt ſincere affliction that I ſee, what appears to me to be the greateſt error—in the firſt place,

THE PRINCE OF WALES,

WITH all the perſonal qualities in the human character to gain popularity, is by no means popular in the country which is his heritage. What then can we conclude but that a ſucceſſion of untoward circumſtances have combined to turn the current of national eſteem from its natural channel. For my own part, I cannot but conſider this circumſtance with real aſtoniſhment. When I reflect on the generous character of the Engliſh nation, and their warm attachment to the family on the throne, I ſhould ſuppoſe it to be a matter of uncommon difficulty, to prevent the *Heir-Apparent* to the Crown, who is highly qualified, and completely amiable in himſelf, from being the

the idol of the people. Yet ſo it is; and I can trace the coldneſs of the public to the *Prince*, to no other cauſe than the wretched character of thoſe men, whoſe private ſociety he has cheriſhed, and whoſe public principles he has adopted.

If it had been my fortune to be placed within the circle of the Royal favour, and at a period ſimilar to the preſent, the *Prince* had done me the honour to aſk my confidential opinion reſpecting his conduct and deſigns, I ſhould have addreſſed myſelf to him in the following manner:

" It is neceſſary for your Royal High-
" neſs to reflect, that princes are not ele-
" vated above the mixed nature of human
" happineſs, and that there are bleſſings
" allotted to the loweſt claſs of mankind
" which Kings cannot poſſeſs. The for-
" tune which made you heir to a great em-
" pire, forbade you to have a friend. It
" is a law of nature, and cannot be viola-
" ted with impunity. The prince who
" looks for friendſhip will find a favourite;

" and

" and in that favourite, perhaps, the loſs
" of his honour, and the miſery of his
" life.—They who aim at convincing you
" that you have a large ſhare of friends,
" bound to you by the ties of perſonal at-
" tachment, inſult your underſtanding;
" and if you believe them, will laugh at
" your credulity. Equality is the bond of
" friendſhip; if, therefore, you deſcend to
" others, you degrade your dignity;—if
" you raiſe others to yourſelf, you create a
" maſter, where it is your duty and your
" happineſs to be ſupreme. Your ſpirit of
" friendſhip ſhould not attach itſelf to
" an individual, but embrace a people.—
" Your affection ſhould be capacious as your
" ſituation is elevated. The mind of a ſo-
" vereign ſhould be dilated as the limits of
" his empire, nor ever ſuffer itſelf to con-
" tract into any anxious attachment to the
" pigmy objects of private regard. Your
" generous mind, Sir, may revolt at ſuch a
" repreſentation; but it is the truth, and
" it becomes you to ſubmit to your allot-
" ment.

" Your

" Your Royal Highneſs ſtands in a
" ſituation unparalelled in the hiſtory of
" princes ;—and you are called to the
" Government of an Empire by a national
" misfortune of which there is no example.
" Power approaches you in a form which
" ſhould greatly controul you in the exer-
" ciſe of it—It is a power that may be very
" ſhortly reſumed, and therefore, while
" there is any probability of its reſumption,
" ſhould be employed with the moſt deli-
" cate attention and tenderneſs to the feel-
" ings of the Sovereign, whenever he
" ſhall awake to reaſon and capacity.—
" I think, Sir, if your Royal Highneſs
" ſhould make any change in his MAJES-
" TY's Miniſters, and ſhould, from his re-
" ſtoration to reaſon, be ſhortly called upon
" to reſign your power, you will find your-
" ſelf in a predicament that will divide the
" people between ridicule and commiſera-
" tion. Indeed, we are not to ſuppoſe that
" the malady of the *King* will ſtrengthen
" his nerves, and render him leſs ſenſible
" than he has ever been to inſult and diſap-
" pointment; it may, therefore, be reaſonably

" apprehended, when his recovery qualifies
" him to know the events which had ariſen
" during his unhappy lapſe, what may be
" his ſenſations at the information, that
" the Miniſters whom he approved had been
" put down, and that thoſe very men who
" had been the continued and intemperate
" opponents of his Government, and whoſe
" public principles and private characters
" had long been the avowed objects of his
" averſion, were appointed to ſucceed them;
" his ſenſations, alas! may be of ſuch a
" poignant nature, as to cauſe an inſtant re-
" lapſe of his complaint, and afflict the
" nation with the moſt cruel diſappointment
" it has ever known.

" If your Royal Highneſs wiſhes to poſ-
" ſeſs the love of a people, which is the
" brighteſt jewel in a Monarch's crown;---
" if it is an object with you to appear with
" real dignity in the eyes of foreign Na-
" tions;---if you look with any anxiety to-
" wards the page of the Hiſtorian, which is
" to contain the records of this important
" period, it becomes you to proceed with

" the

" the moſt rigid precaution in the exerciſe
" of that power with which Parliament
" has inveſted you. It appears to me that
" you would conſult your honour, your
" comfort, and the happineſs of the people,
" if you were to conduct yourſelf according
" to the principles of your royal father's
" perfect mind, to act as the repreſentative
" of his reaſon, and the finiſher of his work.
" You may have perſonal predilections,
" but this is not a moment for the in-
" dulgence of them;—nay, if the objects
" of your favour poſſeſſed the ſhadow of
" magnanimity,—they would not accept of
" power on the terms, and with the hazard
" that muſt accompany the approaching
" elevation to office, which it is their com-
" mon boaſt that you have promiſed them:
" and if they had any intereſt in the proſ-
" perity of their country, or any perſonal
" regard for your Royal Highneſs,—they
" would adviſe you as I have done.

" His MAJESTY,—for I may venture to
" employ the idea,—left his kingdom in a
" ſtate of encreaſing proſperity; and if he

 " ſhould

" ſhould find it on his return, diſtracted by
" the violence of party broils and public
" diſcontents, and ſhould maintain his mind
" againſt ſuch a diſcovery;--on whom, think
" you, Sir, will he lay the blame of ſuch
" things? If the miniſters you may appoint
" ſhould do nothing more than purſue the
" plan of their predeceſſors, it will be con-
" ſidered as an inſult to the King to have
" appointed them;—and if they ſhould
" adopt plans of a different, and leſs be-
" neficial nature,—not only the King but
" the kingdom will be inſulted on the
" occaſion:—nor can I, without the groſſeſt
" flattery, augur favourably on the ſubject.

" The favourites of your Royal Highneſs
" are not the favourites of the people;
" and I am afraid that even your pa-
" tronage will not elevate them into
" public confidence; becauſe, with grief I
" pronounce it, you yourſelf are not popu-
" lar. You, perhaps, may be informed that
" the public voice is with you;—that ad-
" dreſſes are by no means deciſive pledges
" of national favour, and that thoſe which

" have

" have lately been preſented to Mr. *Pitt*,
" were ſigned chiefly by the loweſt claſ-
" ſes of people, whom your Miniſters
" may, as other Miniſters have done, en-
" title the *ſcum of the Earth*. But I muſt
" beg your royal permiſſion to tell you
" otherwiſe.—When a falling Miniſter is
" the moſt popular man in the kingdom,
" his ſucceſſors have little to expect from
" the favour of the people; and I muſt
" beg leave to add, for your inſtruction,
" a culinary proverb,—— that *when the*
" *pot boils, the ſcum is uppermoſt*."

" Mr. Fox may attempt to perſuade your
" Royal Highneſs to adopt his principles of
" popularity:— *When the people are with*
" *me they are right, and I will cheriſh their*
" *patriotiſm*; *but when they are againſt me;*
" *they are infatuated, and it is my duty to op-*
" *poſe their madneſs*.—That ſuch oppoſi-
" tion will form a neceſſary meaſure in the
" Adminiſtration which it is expected you
" will appoint, I can eaſily foreſee; nor
" will the repeal of the Shop-tax, the on-
" ly ground whatever which they poſſeſs

" for

" for popularity, extend beyond ſome
" forced illuminations,— the purchaſed
" huzzas of Weſtminſter voters,---and the
" public thanks, perhaps, of the City Aſſo-
" ciation.

" It is an incontrovertible maxim, and
" your adherent Mr. *Edmund Burke* will
" confirm the truth of it, that, when a Mi-
" niſter is determined to hold his place in
" oppoſition to the people, he muſt govern
" by the power of corruption; but I truſt,
" Sir, that you will never conſent to the
" extenſion of an evil, which to have con-
" trouled and corrected, is among the glo-
" ries of the preſent Adminiſtration.

" Indeed, Sir, I cannot but lament that
" the indiſcreet councils of your friends
" have made you appear to diſapprove the
" meaſure of conſigning the *King*'s diſor-
" dered ſtate to his faithful conſort's care.—
" Is it poſſible they can make you believe
" that there is not ſufficient in all the pa-
" tronage, at home and abroad, to ſatisfy
" the craving poverty, or impatient ambi-
" tion

" tion of the party, as well as to anſwer
" the purpoſe of corruption,—if corrup-
" tion muſt be an engine of your govern-
" ment,—without intruding upon the be-
" coming dignity of the Sovereign, and
" violating the ſanctuary of your royal
" mother's conſolation?

"No common arts have been employed to
" repreſent the reſtrictions of Parliament as
" perſonal inſults to you, and your Royal
" mind has been perſuaded to adopt the idea;
" but, ſurely, your more mature reflection
" will diſcover that limitations, like laws, are
" made, not againſt individuals, but againſt
" the common frailties of human nature.
" The Act of Settlement is a ſtring of li-
" mitations, and Magna Charta is the
" ſame. Nay, the cumbrous volumes of
" the Statute Law, contain nothing but
" limitations in ſome ſhape or other; and
" King William III. had as good cauſe
" to complain of the Bill of Rights, as you
" have to conſider yourſelf inſulted by the
" reſolutions of Parliament.—Permit me,
" Sir, to add, that your *adviſers* are not

" your

" your *friends*; — they never were the
" friends of the afflicted King, nor, with all
" their profeſſions, do I believe them to be
" the *friends* of the *people*.—They have
" brought you into a conteſt with the Mi-
" niſters of your Father;—they have con-
" ducted it with all the miſerable ſpirit of
" a Borough Election; and they have cauſ-
" ed your repeated defeats, where it was
" beneath your dignity to wiſh to triumph.
" If you cannot at once extirpate the ha-
" bits of ſenſual indulgence, which have
" done you ſo much injury;—if you attempt
" a vain reſiſtance to your paſſions which
" have ſo often diſgraced you;—if you can-
" not live without having recourſe to the
" pleaſures of intemperance, let them be
" enjoyed in the ſecret corners of your pa-
" lace;—give to the world, at leaſt, the
" exterior due to the ſtation which you oc-
" cupy;—and learn, I beſeech you, Sir, to
" diſtinguiſh between the Stateſman whom
" you employ in the ſervice of your coun-
" try, and the buffoon whom you call to
" aid your midnight feſtivities.

" You

" You are, at this moment in a ſituation
" of great perplexity: by elevating your
" perſonal favourites to immediate power
" you will riſk much, and can gain but
" little :—by continuing the miniſters of
" your royal father, during his recover-
" able ſtate, you will *riſk* nothing, and
" *gain* much;—you will gain the love of
" the people, and the thanks of the *King*,
" when he ſhall poſſeſs the capacity to
" thank you:—and, I ſhould think, Sir,
" that it can be of no little conſequence
" to ſuch a mind as your's, whether the
" firſt congratulations you offer to your
" father, on his reſtoration to reaſon, will
" be returned by expreſſions of gratitude or
" reproach.—But whenever a repoſſeſſion of
" capacity ſhall be declared hopeleſs by the
" royal phyſicians,—and Parliament ſhall
" adopt the declaration,---then, Sir, your
" power will be entire, and thoſe perſons
" whom you ſhall honour with your con-
" fidence will naturally ſucceed to the go-
" vernment of the kingdom. But, in the
" mean time, let me implore your Royal
" Highneſs to beware of any change;

" hold yourſelf in the dignity of pa-
" tience :— the affairs of the country
" are well adminiſtered, and, if thoſe
" men whom you wiſh to bring into power
" were much better than they are, an al-
" teration of miniſterial arrangement, at
" this criſis, would be a diſadvantage to
" the kingdom, and might prove a ſerious
" ſource of mortification to yourſelf. Per-
" mit me, Sir, in concluding, to offer to
" the recollection of your Royal Highneſs
" the epitaph of the Italian valetudinarian.
" *Stavo bene—ma per ſtar meglio—ſto qui—*
" I was well—I would be better—and here
" I lie."

Such, my friend, would be the ſenti-ments I ſhould deliver on ſuch an occaſion—and, in ſo doing, I ſhould perform the duty of a faithful ſubject and a good citizen:—but I muſt now beg leave to quit the character which I have aſſumed, and to return to that which, I truſt, will accompany me to the end of my days—for, till then, I ſhall be, with the greateſt truth,

Your moſt ſincere friend, &c.